

Message Text

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TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

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CHEROKEE EYES ONLY FOR DR BRZEZINSKI

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SUBJECT: MEETINGS IN ATHENS, JANUARY 21

WHITE HOUSE FOR PRESIDENT AND DR. BRZEZINSKI

DEPARTMENT FOR THE ACTING SECRETARY AND TARNOFF

1. I HAD A VERY USEFULL AND INFORMATIVE MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS THIS AFTERNOON WHICH LASTED
FOR A LITTLE OVER TWO HOURS AND MET WITH HIM AGAIN
OVER DINNER FOR ALMOST TWO MORE HOURS. HE WAS WARM
IN HIS EXPRESSIONS OF FRIENDSHIP FOR THE U. U.S. AND
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SPOKE TO ME FRANKLY AND WITH SINCERITY IN OUTLINING
HIS VIEWS. WE COVERED THE WHOLE RANGE OF U.S.-GREEK
BILATERAL RELATIONS AND THE ISSUES OF COMMON CONCERN TO
US IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN -- CYPRUS AND GREEK-
TURKISH DIFFERENCES IN THE AEGEAN. ALTHOUGH CARAMANLIS
SAID NOTHING STARTLINGLY NEW, I GAINED A MUCH BETTER
UNDERSTANDING OF THE GREEK POSITION ON THESE MATTERS

AS A RESULT OF MY DISCUSSIONS WITH HIM AND HIS
SENIOR ADVISORS.

2. CARAMANLIS SAID, AS HE HAS REPEATEDLY IN PUBLIC,
THAT GREECE WILL RETURN TO FULL PARTICIPATION IN NATO
AS SOON AS THE REASONS FOR ITS WITHDRAWAL ARE
RESOLVED, I. E., THE CYPRUS PROBLEM IS SETTLED. IN
THE MEANTIME, HE CONSIDERS IT IMPORTANT THAT THE
CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH NATO FOR A SPECIAL RELATION-
SHIP BE CONCLUDED QUICKLY. IN THIS CONNECTION HE
ASKED THAT WE HELP TO BRING THIS ABOUT BY THIS SUMMER.
I TOLD HIM THAT I WOULD LOOK INTO IT WHEN I RETURNED
TO WASHINGTON AND WOULD BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH HIS
FOREIGN MINISTER.

3. CARAMANLIS CONSIDERS CYPRUS TO BE AT THE HEART
OF GREECE'S PROBLEMS, NOT ONLY WITH NATO BUT ALSO
WITH RELATIONS WITH TURKEY ACROSS THE BOARD. HE ARGUED
THAT THE GREEK SIDE HAS MADE SOME BASIC CONCESSIONS
TO MEET TURKISH DEMANDS FOR A SETTLEMENT BUT TURKEY
HAS NOT RESPONDED IN GOOD FAITH NOR HAS THERE BEEN A
VALID TURKISH INTERLOCUTOR. CARAMANLIS HAS
RESERVATIONS ABOUT ECEVIT'S SINCERITY IN SEEKING A
SOLUTION AND SERIOUSLY DOUBTS HE HAS THE POLITICAL
STRENGTH DOMESTICALLY TO ACHIEVE ONE IN ANY CASE.
I TOLD HIM ECEVIT IMPRESSED ON ME HE WANTED TO SETTLE
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CYPRUS AND WOULD MAKE SERIOUS PROPOSALS SHORTLY WITH
RESPECT TO BOTH THE TERRITORIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL
QUESTIONS. CARAMANLIS REPLIED HE HOPED THIS WAS TRUE
BUT WAS SKEPTICAL AND WOULD WAIT AND SEE. AS FOR A SUMMIT
MEETING, AS PROPOSED BY ECEVIT, HE SEES SERIOUS DANGERS
UNLESS THERE IS ADEQUATE ADVANCE PREPARATION TO ENSURE
THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCCESS AND I ADMITTED I COULD NOT
QUARREL WITH HIM ON THIS POINT.

4. WE ALSO TALKED ABOUT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WHICH
HE CONSIDERS TO BE GOOD BUT WHICH COULD BE IMPROVED.
HE EXPLAINED THAT FINALIZATION OF OUR DCA PRESENTS PROBLEMS
BECAUSE IT IS LINKED TO THE TURKISH DCA IN VIEW OF THE
AID ASPECTS OF BOTH AGREEMENTS. IF AID WERE TAKEN OUT
THERE WOULD BE NO PROBLEM. IN ADDITION, HOWEVER, THE
ACHIEVEMENT OF A SPECIAL GREEK RELATIONSHIP WITH NATO
IS ALSO CONNECTED WITH THE DCA SINCE IT IS NEEDED TO ESTAB-
LISH THE ESSENTIAL FRAMEWORK FOR OUR BASES AGREEMENT.
WITHOUT A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP, THERE WOULD BE NO LEGITI-
MATE FRAMEWORK FOR THE BASES. I INDICATED TO HIM THE
MATTER OF THE TURKISH DCA WOULD BE RAISED IN THE CONGRESS
IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE.

5. I TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO INFORM THE PRIME MINISTER
WE WERE PREPARED TO MOVE AHEAD QUICKLY WITH THE
APPOINTMENT OF A NEW AMBASSADOR AND HE INDICATED
HIS AGREEMENT TO BOB MCCLOSKEY. I WILL BE FOLLOWING
UP ON THIS WHEN I RETURN.

6. OUR DISCUSSION AT DINNER WAS IN GOOD PART A
PHILOSOPHICAL ONE DURING WHICH CARAMANLIS EXPRESSED
PESSIMISM WITH RESPECT TO THE SITUATION IN THE
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND IN THE DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES IN
GENERAL. HE IS CLEARLY DEDICATED TO A UNITED EUROPE
IN CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH THE U.S. I THINK HE IS A
TRUE FRIEND WHOM WE SHOULD SUPPORT IN HIS EFFORTS
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TO FIND PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO HIS COUNTRY'S DIFFERENCES
WITH TURKEY AND IN HIS DETERMINATION TO HELP BUILD A SOLID AND
STABLE DEMOCRATIC REGIME IN GREECE.
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